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ABSTRACT

The "urbanization level" in the attitudes of the rural population (n=2,000) in Novosibirsk province in the USSR was examined in terms of the relationship of values, needs, and preferences between the typical or "traditional" rural orientation and that of the typical urban orientation. The concepts of "traditional orientation" and "urbanistic orientation" were operationalized via attitudinal responses indicating like or dislike for rural or urban features. The criteria established for rural values were: natural conditions; calm pace of life; private economy; farm work; and habitual human relations. The criteria established for urban values were: strictly regular working hours; facilities for leisure; shopping facilities; public utilities; and transportation. Data were analyzed in terms of: valuations given to urban and rural life (likes and dislikes for city and country); valuations of work performed (degree of content and working hours); and preferences re: various kinds of dwellings (objective differentials and content). Results indicated: value of peace, nature, and private economy among residents of all types of communities; disparity between objective dwelling differentials and the degree of content with dwellings (the more urbanized areas complained more); work satisfaction by 77% of the respondents. (JC)

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TRADITIONAL AND URBANISTIC VALUES OF RURAL PEOPLE AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE

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TRADITIONAL AND URBANISTIC VALUES OF RURAL PEOPLE AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE (TRADITSIONNYE I URBANISTICHESKIE TSENNOSTI SELSKOGO NASELENIA I IKH ZAVISIMOST OT MESTA ZHITELSTVA)

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Abstract

The paper examines "urbanization level" in the attitudes of the rural population of the Novosibirsk province (2000 respondents), i.e. the relationship of values, needs and preferences of two kinds: 1) typical of rural side prior to the contemporary urbanization period (last 20-25 years), named "traditional" and 2) typical of urban culture, "urbanistic".

This task is tackled through analysis of various data, namely 1) valuations given to urban and rural life (what is liked or disliked in city and country); 2) valuations of work performed and 3) preferences to various kinds of dwellings. In all three cases values, needs and preferences were subdivided into traditional rural and urbanistic and the relationship between them was established.

It is shown in the paper that traditional rural values are at present still widely spread among rural dwellers. This is seen in their attachment to rural life style and in critical attitudes toward city.

1. Problem

The paper is devoted to "urbanization of attitudes", i.e. gradual rural-urban transition in values, needs and preferences of rural and urban population on the basis of supplanting traditional rural attitudinal standards by new ones, typical of urban culture. Attitudinal changes of rural people are studied in the U.S.S.R. as part of a more

general process of urbanization of the countryside (Arutiunian, 1971:254; Zaslavskaia and Ryvkina, 1972:245-263) by which its socioeconomic development directed at rural-urban transition is meant. This process covers three spheres: 1) rural social setting, in particular, populated points of different modernity levels, production and services; ties with larger centres; 2) life style of population, the system of its everyday life activity and 3) system of values expressed in the nature of needs and preferences, degree of satisfaction with rural life as a whole and with its separate aspects (work, household activity, leisure).

Mechanisms of this process are diverse. First, it is goal-directed activity of governmental, economic and public organizations on improving rural habitation system, developing all spheres of services, housing construction in rural areas, implemented according to the stated task of wiping out essential rural-urban differences posed by the program party documents. Second, increased direct contacts of rural population with city through more intensive flows of commuters, as well as regular journeys of rural dwellers to cities with consumer, educational, recreational and other purposes. Third, intensification of indirect contacts with city through mass media and intercourse with children and kins coming to rural places from city. The diffusion of urban conveniences and values exercises an ever increasing effect on value systems of rural population.

According to this, a task arises to study the effect 1) of urbanization level of rural social setting and life style on value systems; 2) of value systems on life style and indirectly on changes in the rural social setting. The general concern of the study is to find out the correspondence (or divergence) between rates and character of rural social setting urbanisation and the life activity of population, i.e. the life style (including satisfaction with it).

The orientations of rural population are at present formed and changed under the influence of several factors

of different nature. These are, first, new socialist relations in the countryside: collective-farm system, rapid growth of state forms of ownership on producer goods, new forms of organization of work and work remunerations, development of rural educational and cultural sphere, essential shifts in settlement pattern; second, old rural traditions which, by their persistence, outlived the historical age that had originated them; third, a strong factor influencing the rural side is city; fourth, the factors characterizing "micro environment" of rural family: level of income, educational attainments; number of family members, kind of dwelling and private economy. It is natural that different population groups (youth and older generation living in large and small settlements and others) have different attitudes toward urban and rural life. Thus, some groups of population prefer rural to urban life on account of opportunity to have private economy which is of great value to them, whereas differences in cultural and consumer services and household modernity are less important for them. For other groups, conversely, most important are general cultural conditions, and the latter's low level lead to their discontent with rural life. Still others, rank highest working conditions, opportunities for getting occupational training and advancement and are on this account city-oriented. All this permits us to ascertain two types of orientations. The first, "traditional", is marked by advocating rural side and rural life style on the whole, content with habitual rural conditions and condemning urban life style. The second, "urbanistic", is characterized by critical attitude toward the countryside and rural life style in general, discontent with their particular aspects and positive attitude toward the corresponding urban features. The task is, first, to establish the relationship between "traditional" and "urbanistic" orientations for tested population; second, to study the dependence of this relationship on urbanization level of community of residence; third, to find out variations in

the satisfaction with those features which are most important for population. Such are dwelling conditions on which family life is dependent and work in public sector on which its economic and social status depends. To solve it we have used data about the attitude of rural population towards rural and urban life in general and about their satisfaction with rural working and dwelling conditions.

2. The Relationship of Traditional and Urbanistic Orientations in Ratings of Rural and Urban Life by Population

The concepts "traditional orientation" and "urbanistic orientation" were operationalized through the replies about attitudes toward rural and urban life.[1] Selected were only those of them which related to comparable features. Traditional orientation was evidenced by replies advocating ("like") one rural feature or condemning ("dislike") one urban feature. Urbanistic orientation, reversely, was evidenced by condemning one rural feature or advocating one urban feature. As a result of classifying the replies of rural dwellers according to these criteria we have revealed the following traditional values: natural conditions, calm pace of life, private economy, farm work, habitual human relations ("no strangers"). As an urbanistic value recognized were strictly regular working hours, facilities for leisure (cultural services), level of shopping facilities, public utilities and transport.

What are the grounds for interpreting so the obtained ratings? The elements of life conditions and style held as "pluses" of city and "minuses" of country relate to the forms and ways of life corresponding to the current stage

1 We have used data from a sampling sociological-statistical survey of the rural population of the Novosibirsk province carried out in 1972 at the Institute of Economics (Siberian Branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences) jointly with the Central Statistical Body of the R.S.F.S.R. and the Committee on Labour Utilization of the R.S.F.S.R.

of national development as a whole, the achieved level of scientific technological progress which has been implemented in cities to a far higher degree. These general social processes form among rural population values engendering, on the one hand, city-orientation, and on the other critical attitude towards the countryside. According to this, such values were designated as urbanistic. Through them "the image of city" is opposed to "the image of the countryside" as embodiment of a more advanced system of services, more favourable working conditions, a better life as a whole. In Table 1 it is shown that working hours, conditions for recreation, provision of consumer goods, communal services are mentioned only with regard to positive valuations of city and negative of country and are not mentioned at all in an opposite situation. The exception is transport. Though good transportation is recognized as urban "plus", heavy traffic is rated also as urban minus, hence this item cannot be taken as urbanistic value.

It should be noted that the percentage who rated regime of work, conditions for leisure and other "urbanistic" benefits as city "pluses" and the absence of these benefits as rural "minuses" is higher than the percentage of those who reported the corresponding "minuses" of the countryside. This fact allows us to suppose here a contradictive feature in rural people's attitudes consisting in that abstract attachment to city (not for "oneself" but "in general") is often accompanied by not strong critical attitude towards rural life to which people are well adjusted.

Are we enough justified to treat natural conditions, presence of private economy, habitual pace of life as well as attachment to farm work, to less restrained life, customary human relations as "traditional" values? The specific feature of these benefits for people is that they embody a habitual rural life order on whose background "the image of city" loses its abstract attractiveness which is reflected in ratings. Thus, percentage for whom the possibility to run private economy is rural "plus" and its absence

Table 1

The relationship between traditional and urbanistic orientation of rural population

Objects of orientations: rural and urban features	Percentage with this orientation to total tested			
	traditional		urbanistic	
	liked in country	disliked in city	liked in city	disliked in country
Natural conditions	35.1	9.9	-	2.5
Private economy possibility to run it	17.6			
necessity to run it				5.5
possibility not to run it			4.5	
impossibility to run it		18.4		
General pace of life			1.3	
including:				
overcrowding		29.4	3.4	
thin population	-	-	-	2.2
peace	16.0			
Regime of work			27.0	11.0
Conditions for leisure			21.4	10.4
Provision of goods			12.8	8.9
Consumer services			5.8	1.9
Public utilities			8.9	1.1-2.5
Transport facilities		2.9	2.6	4.0
heavy traffic		4.7		

urban "minus" is 3.5-4 times as high as those who condemn the need to run private economy in country and advocate the possibility to dispense with it in city. The same picture is in evaluations of overcrowding: the respondents reporting it as a negative urban feature are nine times as many as those who think it an advantage. Rationalizing

their positive valuation of the country, 16% of all interviewed pointed out to "peace" but among its demerits "thin population" was reported only by 2.1%, i.e. one eighth of respondents. A similar picture is observed in ratings of natural conditions and transportation. All this shows that in ratings given by this group traditional instead of urbanistic orientation is prevailing.

On the whole, the attractiveness of rural life is rationalized largely by traditional and non-attractiveness by urban values. Hence, rural disadvantages are represented in ratings in a wider and more differentiated way, and advantages in a more condensed way. In ratings of city the picture is reverse. Its non-attractiveness is justified by traditional rural values and attractiveness by urbanistic. Although urban against rural advantages are described by people in a pretty differentiated way, its specific features as a kind of settlement, i.e. its overcrowdedness, intensive pace of life, noise, formal impersonal character of human relations, are non-habitual for a rural dweller. This is why in spite of all attractiveness of urbanistic benefits to him many of urban features continue to be strange and unacceptable to him.

How, then, should we evaluate the attitudes of rural people toward city and country on the whole? It hardly would be reasonable to confront the significance for him of habitual rural values on the one hand - private household, customary work, closeness to the nature, informal relations-and of good services and more convenient hours for work and leisure, on the other. It stands to reason that for the contemporary rural dweller significant are both kinds of benefits, corresponding not only to traditional but also to urbanistic values. This very fact is an indicator of a high level of rural population comparing to, say, pre-war period or the early 60s when their demands were considerably lower. The presence of the two orientations, however, leads us to suppose that the rural people's attitudes to city are on the whole ambiguous. This conclu-

sion is supported also by other data describing the relationship of "abstract valuations" of urban and rural places and picking them up as preferable places of residence (in a hypothetical situation). Though 40% of the interviewed think urban life better than rural (against 27% of those holding that rural life is better than urban), only 20% would like to live in city, and 55% in the countryside, i.e. 2.7 times as many. As is seen, urbanistic orientation which showed itself in abstract valuation is changed into traditional in choice situation. Using divergence and coincidence of abstract ratings and specific choice it is possible to distinguish types of rural dwellers characterized by different degree of consistence and stability of traditional and urbanistic orientations. Such types proved to be three.

Table 2

Typology of rural dwellers by their attitudes to city and country

Types of dwellers	Characteristics of attitudes		Percentage to all sampled
	Abstract rating	Choice (supposed place of residence	
Consistent adherents of the countryside	Country is better than city	Would like to live in a rural place	41
Inconsistent advocates of the rural side	Country is worse than city	Would like to live in a rural place	27
Consistent city advocates	City is better than country	Would like to live in city	32

The typology bears out the conclusion that people's attitudes to city and country are ambiguous on the whole: traditional and urbanistic orientations form a kind of entity (though not stable).

3. The Relationship of Values and Needs to Urbanization Level of Residential Location

It is common knowledge that changes in value systems and needs are engendered by essential changes in social setting, and an integrated index of the latter's level with reference to rural society, is the system of rural settlements differentiated by urbanization degree. Our study was based on their multidimensional typology including seven types of rural communities differentiated by this criterion.[1] The system of production and services in the rural side is designed with an accounte taken of population size of communities and of their administrative-production significance. As a result people resident in district seats and large advanced communities are under far better working and living conditions than residents of low level peripheral settlements. We could expect that their ratings of urban life would be different.

In the course of the study, some hypotheses about the nature of the relationship of urban values and needs to urbanization level of rural places were put forward. The first: their level varies directly with urbanization level of community of residence. The second: their level varies inversely with this factor. Underlying both assumptions

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1 I - the smallest hinterland communities remote from social centres, with predominance of rural type of building and low level services; II - small hinterland predominantly agrarian communities with rural type of building and low services, comparatively close to centres; III - small peripheral settlements comparatively close to social centres with partially urbanized type of building and medium services; IV- certain central farmsteads with rural type of building and medium services; V - central farmsteads situated in the proximity to more advanced centres with rural type of building and high level services; VI - agrarian settlements with urbanized type of building and high level services, performing the function of social centres; VII - large industrial settlements with urbanized type of building and high level services performing the function of social cetnres (Zaslavskaia and Muchnik, 1974).

were two generally accepted postulates: the former from the conception that needs satisfaction level rises with the development of social environment, the latter, that the improved life conditions raise the level of demands thus creating new, more advanced and, hence, less satisfied individuals. According to this, more urbanized rural setting, by engendering new urbanistic values, enhances the grudge against the countryside for the absence of urban conveniences and raises the value of city which can offer them.

To test these hypothese we shall consider how urbanistic values are distributed among dwellers of communities of types I-VII (Table 3). First of all , we detect that different benefits yield different relationships (direct or inverse). In particular, in more urbanized communities the percentage dissatisfied with rural regime of work and rating this item as urban "plus" is lower (in communities of VII type they are half as many as in those of I type). A conclusion that "occupational demands" in more urbanized communities are declining is born out also bynother data which will be given below. Roughly the same picture is in transport ratings. The demands on transport services in the countryside in more urbanized communities of VII, VI and III types is three-fifths or one third as many as in low urbanized ones. The attractiveness of city on account of transportation is for these groups lower (with exception of VII type).

Quite a different picture was obtained in ratings of provision of goods, public utilities, consumer services. Here the number of complaints of the countryside and degree of city attractiveness were, first, differentiated very weakly by communities; second, may items (consumer services, provision of goods) are higher in more urbanized communities, thus bearing out the latter hypothesis. This seems quite natural. First, the insufficient level of consumer services and provision of goods in the rural side weakens their differentiation by communities. Second, the nature of these benefits is such that just here new and more

Table 3

The relationship of urbanistic values to urbanization level of communities, % to population size in communities of different types

Community type	Liked in city						Disliked in country					
	suitable regime of work	good conditions for leisure	good provision of goods	consumer services	public utilities	transport	regime of work	cultural services	provision of goods	consumer services	public utilities	transport
I	31.5	24.0	2.3	1.6	4.4	2.2	18.3	12.9	7.9	4.7	0.6	5.4
II	30.0	18.4	17.3	4.3	11.2	2.5	11.0	10.5	11.9	4.0	1.6	7.4
III	26.7	24.4	11.1	1.1	5.6	1.1	12.2	7.2	13.3	5.6	0.6	2.8
IV	33.2	15.9	14.8	6.0	5.5	2.7	12.9	13.2	14.2	7.4	2.5	10.1
V	30.8	20.1	11.0	8.1	10.6	2.8	14.7	11.2	8.2	7.4	1.7	2.6
VI	23.0	20.3	9.2	6.3	12.9	0.8	8.1	9.6	5.7	3.1	3.6	3.0
VII	23.4	24.0	13.8	6.0	5.9	4.0	8.7	9.5	8.9	6.8	1.4	2.5

advanced needs, as long as the basic ones are satisfied, are formed most quickly. Organization of work depends not so much on workers' efforts as on decisions of corresponding state and administrative-managing bodies, regulating the construction of production premises, level of mechanization of operations, number of working hours. In the field of everyday life and provision of goods these constraints are lower: nearly two-thirds rural dwellers satisfy their consumer needs in cities. The contacts with the latter speed up the emergence of new consumer demands, intensifying at the same time the attractiveness of city the corresponding compleints of the countryside. Roughly the same picture is in ratings of cultural services (conditions for leisure).

The degree of differentiation of traditional rural values comparing to urbanistic ones must be lower because discussed are those features of rural life and rural attitudes which distinguish this population as a specific social subgroup. Its specificity, in contras. to urban, is in high valuation just of those life aspects which we have included into "traditional" ones. These are the nature and closeness to it, peace, calm, "freedom", absence of noise, haste, heavy traffic, overcrowding, the possibility to run private economy; safety of traffic, informal human relations. Just the deficiency of these values in urban life underlies critical attitudes of rural people toward city. Its image includes as its integral features contaminated environment, soot, dust, air pollution, absence of rivers, of greenery, noise, crowd, cars; absence of possibility to run private economy, full reliance on shops; fear of traffic, the prevalence of formal relations among people. Values intrinsic to traditional rural attitudes are characteristic of different population groups whatever types of communities they may reside in. Moreover, for population groups residing in more urbanized communities traditional values may be even more significant than for dwellers of remote settlements.

The dependence of traditional values on urbanization

level of a community is presented in Table 4. As is seen, the value of nature, peace, and possibility to run private economy is fairly high among residents of all types of communities. And the importance of these three factors is higher for residents of more urbanized communities than of less urbanized. In particular, the percentage of persons appreciating peace is in communities of VII type 3.7 times as high as in communities of I type. Correspondingly, the claims to city by the above mentioned factors are among these groups substantially higher than by others, and the percentage of individuals who reported such claims is in less urbanized communities two-fifths or half that in communities of VII type. High importance of traditional values for dwellers of more urbanized communities is not a trivial fact. It can be explained by higher percentage of persons with urban experience in them. Their rural orientation is the consequence of their critical attitude toward city which resulted from their immediate contact with it. Apart from this, III, VI and VII types include various rural nonfarms where conditions are often worse than in remote rural places, the more so for persons accustomed to rural life. Under these circumstances its value seems to grow up.

The value system of rural population is not fully covered by replies to attitudinal items about city and country. According to this, it is necessary to analyze undetected preferences. One of them relates to the type of dwelling. This specific item was obscured by more general issues of services and public utilities. Thus, respondents mentioned many particular deficiencies: difficulties in water supply, fuel purveyances, repair of housing. All these difficulties, however, are entailed by dwelling conditions. The latter are important also in their own right: they control living conditions in general, leisure, education and children raising, as well as people's activity in the sphere of public production.

Table 4

The relationship of traditional values on urbanization level of a community, % to population size in communities of different types

Community type	Liked in country				Disliked in city			
	nature	peace	possibility to run private economy	human relations	nature	noise, overcrowding	impossibility to run private economy	relations among people
I	32	6	19	4	6	17	16	1
II	30	11	19	2	6	22	19	2
III	34	11	22	3	11	16	16	1
IV	41	11	10	3	10	26	16	1
V	5	16	14	4	8	28	16	2
VI	33	16	22	3	10	29	18	1
VII	58	22	19	2	14	39	23	1

4. Differentiation of Values and Preferences Related to Dwellings

In the most general way, people's attitude toward dwelling conditions is reflected in their ratings such as "good", "poor" and "medium" which are rather weakly differentiated by communities. Thus, the percentage of households with running water facility in three mostly urbanized types of communities is several dozen times as high as in communities of backward hinterland, the level of satisfaction does not follow this pattern. First, it is often the same among residents of different types of communities; second, in advanced urbanized communities it is often even lower than in remote rural places.

The disparity between objective dwelling differentials and the degree of content with them may be due to the fact that inhabitants of different types of communities are dissatisfied with different features of dwellings. The residents of remote hinterland and of low urbanized rural centres are dissatisfied with the state of dwellings, fuel difficulties, absence of building materials for housing repair. In more urbanized communities the percentage of families with such complaints is two-fifths or half as high, since these are no problem in large settlements. In return, here arise new problems absent in remote communities. Thus, complaints of absence of public utilities in agrarian-industrial centres are about 1.5 times as many; of coldness in dwellings 2.3 times, of overcrowding 1.5 times as many as in communities of remote hinterland.

This pattern is seen in two forms: first, in comparison between communities with different urbanization levels, and, second, in comparison of the same communities in dynamics. Thus, the number of families dissatisfied with dwelling conditions increased by 6% over 1967-1972, though the conditions as such have improved. (The indicators of dwelling provision, of home amenities were raised: the percentage

of apartments with water, gas, central heating facilities has increased). The amelioration in housing conditions does not warrant automatic rise in satisfaction.

This pattern is also due to difficulties of people's adaptation to new living conditions. The rural resident from a remote place may be better adjusted to his poor conditions than the one who resides in a more advanced place but is not adjusted to it. Non-adaptation to conditions is reflected in general dissatisfaction and, in particular, in discontent with dwelling. Suppose a rural dweller moves from a remote nonurbanized village to a larger and urbanized one, say, to a district seat. The present-day district seat cannot provide him with some habitual life conditions which he used to have in his remote village. Thus, whereas in nonurbanized villages 50% of residents have own baths, in district seats they are only 7% which, under the conditions of acute shortage of public baths, sharply increases discontent. Difficulties in running a private economy in a district seat are often not made up by corresponding improvement in provision of goods. All this leads to a paradoxical situation where urbanization degree of dwelling conditions increases and satisfaction with them falls down.

5. Differentiation of Content with Work and Working Hours

Satisfaction with work was reported by 77% of respondents, 10% were dissatisfied with their work, and 13% were satisfied because of the absence of alternatives. While interpreting these data one must bear in mind two circumstances: 1) relatively narrow range of job opportunities in rural places and 2) specific features of traditional rural attitudes. The first circumstance is caused by single-industry kind of production (dominance of agriculture), insufficient development of non-productive sphere; the second, by comparatively low demands of rural people on work. On this background it is important for us to detect trends in the

Table 5

The needs related to dwelling by urbanization of residential location, % to total interviewed

Community type	Discontent with dwelling conditions							
	the state of house, need in repair	heating system	insufficient dwelling area	absence of some conveniences	difficulties in procuring building materials	fuel difficulties	water supply difficulties	others
I	30	8	13	8	4	11	13	23
II	26	11	11	9	4	13	22	13
III	17	14	11	9	10	8	16	30
IV	30	11	22	0	2	9	13	16
V	21	12	11	6	4	12	24	16
VI	24	19	17	9	3	7	12	27
VII	22	13	20	15	2	6	15	20
On the average	24	13	16	10	3	9	17	20

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differentiation of satisfaction with work and with its different aspects by dwellers of different community types (see Table 6). The patterns detected here are as follows.

1. The contentment with work and working hours among residents of more urbanized communities (types III, IV and VII) is on the whole higher than in nonurbanized communities.

2. In more urbanized communities the percentage of ratings manifesting "pseudo-satisfaction" ("satisfied since there is no alternative") sharply declines. A wider range of objective opportunities in job choices for workers in more urbanized communities is reflected in their higher degree of "optimism".

3. The contentment with work in communities of types I and VII is little differentiated, and from V to VII type it increases. We can suppose this to be due to higher demands on work and to emergence of new needs. As working conditions, regime of work, work organization become better, primary demands on work are replaced by ones of a higher order (need in interesting work, in suitable work, in advancement etc.). As a result the total "volume of discontent" remains the same though its quality changes basically.

4. In spite of this tendency and unlike the patterns detected in rural people's attitudes toward dwelling conditions, dominant in the sphere of work is direct dependence of satisfaction degree on urbanization level of the setting: the more urbanized is residential location, the higher workers' contentment.

5. The relationship of work attitude (content with it) to community type is not direct. It is mediated through developmental level (technological equipment, scales, economic opportunities) of those enterprises on which the respondent works. According to this, work attitudes are more dependent on production industrialization and only indirectly on community urbanization.

* * *

Table 6

Content with work and working hours by urbanization level of communities, % to population size in communities of different types

Community types	Degree of content with work				Whether working hours are suitable			
	very satisfied	satisfied	satisfied because of absence of alternatives	dissatisfied	yes	yes, since there cannot be anything different	no	other
I	4	69	18	9	48	15	16	31
II	4	68	16	12	49	13	5	33
III	2	71	21	6	48	11	3	38
IV	4	69	14	13	44	15	10	31
V	3	78	10	9	63	8	3	26
VI	4	77	12	7	65	11	4	20
VII	4	75	10	11	68	7	2	23

The main conclusion based on the 1972 data was that rural people's attitude toward rural and urban life was more than ambiguous, it was contradictory.

At present, however, this conclusion should be adjusted to changes which occurred during the last 4 years. A pilot study conducted in a district of the Novosibirsk province in 1976 has shown that sharp changes toward urbanization in both rural social setting and people's attitudes took place over these years. A wide network of intersettlement connections has been developed, a lot of premises for services and cultural purposes, modern shops, eating facilities have been built. The provision of foodstuffs has improved. All this strongly influences people's orientations. According to preliminary observations, the number of dwellers with cityward intentions has decreased, as well as the degree of critical attitude toward the rural side, and the satisfaction with rural conditions has increased.

All this, however, concerns mainly persons of middle ages. As to the youth, their urban orientations have been less affected by improvements in rural conditions comparing to persons of middle and old ages.

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